

programs, the Leahy-Craig substitute contains a couple of provisions of great importance to Maine farmers. First, the substitute retains a provision that was included in S. 1541 which preserves the existing restriction on planting fruits and vegetables on what we previously called flex acres. Both the Leahy-Craig substitute and S. 1541 refer to all program acres as contract acres, but we still had a problem in earlier versions of S. 1541 whereby commodity crop farmers would have been able to grow any crop on unpaid contract acreage.

This was a problem because it would place nonprogram fruit and vegetable growers at a distinct disadvantage in competition with program farmers who grow the same fruit and vegetable crops. The disadvantage arises from the fact that farmers who grow a program crop like wheat, along with a vegetable like potatoes, can use the Government support payments for wheat to bolster their potato business. Potato farmers in Maine, on the other hand, who do not grow any program crops, do not have a guaranteed source of revenues that they can rely on to support their farm operations.

Senator LUGAR, the author of S. 1541, and Senators LEAHY and CRAIG have listened very intently to the concerns of full-time fruit and vegetable farmers, and they addressed this matter with an even hand. Senator LUGAR even met with Maine potato farmers to discuss this problem. The substitute prohibits the planting of most fruits and vegetables, including potatoes, on contract acres. Senators LUGAR, LEAHY, and CRAIG have demonstrated considerable leadership on this issue, and they deserve to be commended for it.

The other provision in the substitute that I would like to specifically mention concerns dairy farming. Section 108 provides the consent of the Congress to the Northeast Interstate Dairy Compact. This compact was drafted, negotiated, and signed between all of the New England States to help remedy a serious problem throughout that region: the rapid loss of the family dairy farm.

The compact creates a regional commission which has the authority to set minimum prices paid to farmers for fluid, or class I milk. Delegations from each State comprise the voting membership of the commission, and these delegations in turn will include both farmer and consumer representatives. The minimum price established by the commission is the Federal market order price plus a small "over-order" differential that would be paid by milk processing plants in the region. This over-order price is capped in the compact, and a two-thirds voting majority of the commission is required before any over-order price can be instituted.

Mr. President, we desperately need this dairy compact in New England. The current Federal order price for this region does not come close to reflecting the farmers' cost of production. As

a result, we are losing family farms at a consistent and rapid rate, and their loss impacts the rural economy and the municipal tax bases of many small New England towns.

The people of New England—farmers, consumers, processors, and public officials—devised the compact as a solution to this problem, and it is wisely limited in scope. The compact only applies to class I fluid milk, and since we have a largely self-contained fluid milk market in our region, the compact will not harm farmers or processors in other regions of the country. There is no good reason not to support the efforts of the people of New England to solve one of their own problems. We should praise them for their ingenuity and self-reliance. I am very pleased that Senators LEAHY and CRAIG have recognized the merits of this proposal, and have agreed to include it in their substitute.

Mr. President, the Leahy-Craig substitute will generate substantial savings for the taxpayers, and it will give farmers more flexibility. It will address the concerns of many fruit and vegetable growers, and dairy farmers. Given the fiscal implications of not passing a farm bill, all Senators have an important stake in at least the completion of debate on the farm bill. Senators LEAHY, CRAIG, LUGAR, DOLE, and many others have done a tremendous amount of work of the substitute before us, and the Senate must be allowed to finish action on it. I urge my colleagues to vote for cloture and for passage of the Leahy-Craig substitute.

Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, I rise in opposition to the Leahy substitute farm bill.

The Leahy substitute farm bill, is at its core, essentially the freedom-to-farm bill. The provisions contained in the Leahy substitute were never debated in committee, were not passed as part of the Senate budget reconciliation bill, but were instead approved in conference.

I have some strong reservations regarding the freedom-to-farm bill, although I too, share the concerns of each Member of this body that farmers need immediate certainty. The farmers in Alabama experienced a disastrous year in 1995 with a drought, insect infestations and even a hurricane or two. These farmers have suffered a great deal and the payments in freedom to farm appear very attractive. However, the guaranteed payments freedom to farm offers are made in exchange for a phaseout of farm programs. I disagree strongly with phasing out farm programs.

The efforts undertaken by the Department of Agriculture to address the disastrous crop year and subsequent financial hardship provides another option for American agriculture. The USDA has announced its intention to allow for extended repayment of advance deficiency payments, with the interest waived in some cases. This effort should be applauded. I also think

that the discussion regarding the forgiveness of 1995 advance deficiency payments warrant some merit. I believe that we can provide income stability for our farmers without demanding the phaseout of farm programs in return.

The core component of sound farm policy should be an adequate and certain safety net, one that provides support when market prices are low, and one that does not need to make payments when the market is up. This is how current farm programs are structured, and they work.

I have long stated that I believe that the current structure of farm programs have served rural America, and consumers everywhere, extremely well. Therefore, it is my belief that farm programs should only be fine tuned. I do recognize that some of my less fortunate regional colleagues feel that farm programs that affect their States need greater changes than those that affect the South. The ability to resolve these differences is the purpose of debate on farm programs. Which to this point has been very little in committee, where farm programs are supposed to be written. Therefore, I recommend that we return to committee and discuss the farm bill as we always have in the past. We would then be able to bring a bill to the floor that addresses all of our needs and concerns, and pass a bill that serves our agricultural producers, rural America and consumers alike.

#### CLOTURE MOTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired. The clerk will report the motion to invoke cloture.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

#### CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on the substitute amendment to S. 1541, the farm bill.

LARRY E. CRAIG, JAMES M. JEFFORDS, DON NICKLES, JOHN H. CHAFEE, ROBERT F. BENNETT, THAD COCHRAN, TED STEVENS, TRENT LOTT, RICHARD G. LUGAR, CRAIG THOMAS, ALAN K. SIMPSON, JOHN W. WARNER, LARRY PRESSLER, DAN COATS, CONNIE MACK, KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on the substitute amendment numbered 1384 to Senate bill 1541, the farm bill, shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are required under the rule. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. DOLE. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. GRAMM], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. MCCAIN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MURKOWSKI], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. SMITH] are necessarily absent.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN] and the

Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 59, nays 34, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 9 Leg.]

#### YEAS—59

Abraham	Faircloth	Lugar
Ashcroft	Frist	Mack
Bennett	Gorton	McConnell
Biden	Graham	Moseley-Braun
Bond	Grams	Nickles
Bradley	Grassley	Pell
Breaux	Gregg	Pressler
Brown	Hatch	Robb
Burns	Hatfield	Roth
Campbell	Helms	Santorum
Chafee	Hutchison	Shelby
Coats	Inhofe	Simpson
Cochran	Jeffords	Snowe
Cohen	Johnston	Specter
Coverdell	Kassebaum	Stevens
Craig	Kempthorne	Thomas
D'Amato	Kerry	Thompson
DeWine	Kyl	Thurmond
Dole	Lautenberg	Warner
Domenici	Leahy	

#### NAYS—34

Akaka	Feingold	Lieberman
Baucus	Feinstein	Mikulski
Bingaman	Ford	Moynihan
Boxer	Glenn	Murray
Bryan	Harkin	Pryor
Bumpers	Heflin	Rockefeller
Byrd	Hollings	Sarbanes
Conrad	Inouye	Simon
Daschle	Kennedy	Wellstone
Dodd	Kerrey	Wyden
Dorgan	Kohl	
Exon	Levin	

#### NOT VOTING—7

Gramm	Murkowski	Smith
Lott	Nunn	
McCain	Reid	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote, the yeas are 59, and the nays are 34. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn, not having voted in the affirmative, the motion to invoke cloture is rejected.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, the vote was 59 to 34. That would be short. Right?

Mr. FORD. That is the way I calculate it.

Mr. DOLE. We will have to decide. I will let the Democratic leader know whether we will have another cloture vote on Thursday. But I think it is pretty obvious that had our absentees been here, we would have had cloture, and we have pretty good bipartisan support. It seems to me that we are pretty close to a bipartisan resolution of this matter.

I will let my colleagues know as soon as we can because I know some have plans and some would like to have plans.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SANTORUM). The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak for 5 minutes as in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### CHINA AND TAIWAN

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, China is making bellicose statements about Taiwan. This morning's Washington Post begins an editorial with these words:

If it came to that, the United States would have no choice but to help Taiwan—a flourishing free-market democracy—defend itself against attack by Communist China. No treaty or law compels this response, but decency and strategic interest demand it. An American Government that allowed the issue of Taiwan's future be settled by China's force would be in disgrace as well as in error.

Mr. President, the best way to avoid force or to avoid giving a dictator and a dictatorship the appetite that will not be satisfied with conquering one area is to make clear that that will be resisted by the community of nations. I am not talking about the use of American troops, but I think American air power clearly ought to be brought to bear if such an eventuality should take place.

If China is permitted to grab Taiwan, I think it will be only a matter of time before China takes Mongolia and other areas. I think the best way of maintaining stability in that area of the world is to be firm.

I heard my colleague, Senator FEINSTEIN, refer to our policy toward China as one of zigzagging. I think that is a correct analysis of what we are doing. I think we ought to be firm; we ought to be positive. I want to have good relations with China, but China should not think for a moment that she can invade Taiwan without having serious problems. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have printed in the RECORD the Washington Post editorial and also an A.M. Rosenthal op-ed piece in the New York Times, "Washington Confronts China."

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 6, 1996]

#### IF CHINA ATTACKS TAIWAN

If it came to that, the United States would have no choice but to help Taiwan—a flourishing free-market democracy—defend itself against attack by Communist China. No treaty or law compels this response, but decency and strategic interest demand it. An American government that allowed the issue of Taiwan's future to be settled by China's force would be in disgraced as well as in error.

This is what the United States should be conveying, and China pondering, as Beijing steps up military pressure on Taiwan. Down that road lies a possible direct confrontation with Washington. Even starting out on that road carries heavy risks for China. Especially dangerous is any possibility that Beijing may be setting out under the dubious and smug impression that the United States will back off and leave China with no heavy costs to pay at all.

But, of course, to be faced with an actual decision on rescuing a threatened Taiwan

would itself signify a calamitous American policy failure. There is overwhelming national need and also adequate time to keep today's friction from becoming tomorrow's explosion.

The ever more glaring contrast between Beijing's totalitarianism and Taipei's American-nursed democracy, and the end of the Cold War, have weakened the 20-year-old international formulas supporting China's peaceful reunification with its wayward province. A significant opposition in Taiwan now favors independence. The government, coming up on Taiwan's first democratic presidential election, has had to bend, in part by seeking official American visas for its leaders, thus provoking Beijing. The Clinton administration has been slow to grant the visas, not wishing to aggravate its other tensions with China. American legislators of different stripes have come to Taiwan's side, further provoking Beijing.

Broad, forward-looking "dialogue" with China has been out of style in Washington since George Bush imprudently sent secret emissaries to Beijing after the Tiananmen massacre. Fighting fires has been in. This is a fire. The United States needs to encourage calming gestures by Taiwan (suspend the visa provocations) and China (suspend the thuggish threats). At home, it needs to reach a policy consensus with Congress in order to better show China that it cannot squeeze Taipei and to convey to Taiwan that it should not set about deliberately and recklessly on a policy of trying to draw the United States into an escalating showdown with Beijing. Then the two sides can return to the irregular but peaceful relationship they were pursuing before.

[From the New York Times]

WASHINGTON CONFRONTS CHINA

(By A.M. Rosenthal)

Washington has chosen the issue on which it will at last acknowledge and confront Chinese Communist action detrimental to the United States.

There was a considerable list to choose from. China threatens daily missile attacks against Taiwan. Beijing sells missiles to Iran and other Mideast dictatorships. At home it increases arrests and jail sentences for dissidents. It allows Internet use to only a relative handful, and from now on only through government-controlled ports.

Each act involves the U.S. An attack on Taiwan would force U.S. involvement. Sales of missiles endanger Mideast peace and defy U.S. policy against proliferation of high-tech weapons.

Increasing repression and closing access to international information is a slap at the U.S. Washington had assured the world of the opposite—that freedoms would increase in China after the 1994 Clinton Administration decision not to use economic pressure to ease oppression.

Well, enough is enough. Washington now says it will show its staunch determination to resist Chinese provocation—about compact disks. If China does not stop counterfeiting these disks, the Administration will increase tariffs on Chinese goods by as much as \$1 billion.

Any commercial piracy costs manufacturers and artists money and should be opposed. But to appreciate the CD episode fully it helps to have a taste for bitter comedy.

1. The Communists will not keep any new promise better than they keep existing ones—or others, like ending slave-labor exports to the U.S.

2. If they do camouflage piracy better, they will demand concessions—like even tighter zipping of the U.S. mouth on human rights.

3. The U.S. announcement accentuates the moral disaster of Clintonian policy on China.